

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 185974
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 /068 R

DRAFTED BY AF/C:LDJUNIOR:GJB
APPROVED BY AF:WCHARROP
AF/S:PSMITH
S/P:HJANIN
AF/S:SLOW

-----032695 222048Z /66

P R 222036Z JUL 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T STATE 185974

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, AO, CG, ZA

SUBJECT: ANGOLAN, ZAIRIAN AND ZAMBIAN RELATIONS

REFS: A) STATE 172815
B) STATE 183446 (NOTAL)
C) BRAZZAVILLE 958
D) LONDON 1096

FROM HARROP FOR CHARGE

SUMMARY: DEPARTMENT BELIEVES IT MAY BE USEFUL TO EXPLORE
WITH GRZ ITS VIEWS ON POSSIBLE ZAMBIAN PARTICIPATION
IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE A GROWING RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN
ANGOLA AND ZAIRE. AMBASSADOR LOW CONCURS IN THIS MESSAGE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 185974

END SUMMARY.

1. WE HAVE KEPT YOU INFORMED (REFS A-C) OF OUR ROLE IN
BRINGING ANGOLA AND ZAIRE TOGETHER FOR DISCUSSIONS ON
MEASURES TO LOWER TENSIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. OUTCOME
OF BRAZZAVILLE MEETING (REF C) COULD MEAN BEGINNING OF A
PROCESS LEADING TOWARD A DE FACTO OR FORMAL RAPPROCHEMENT

BETWEEN THOSE STATES, (ALTHOUGH MANY PITFALLS LIE AHEAD).

2. ZAMBIA HAS LONG WORKED FOR A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN

ANGOLA AND ZAIRE, AND HAS A SUBSTANTIAL STAKE IN ASSISTING AND EVEN PARTICIPATING IN THIS LATEST INITIATIVE. PRESIDENT KAUNDA WAS APPARENTLY SHAKEN BY ALMOST UNIMPEDED EX-KATANGAN USE OF ZAMBIAN TERRITORY TO LAUNCH SHABA II, AND IS TAKING SUCH MEASURES AS ARE WITHIN ZAMBIAN CAPABILITIES TO MONITOR THE AFFECTED AREA AND TO PREVENT REOCCURRENCE. WHILE HARDLY AN ARDENT ADVOCATE OF MOBUTU, KAUNDA RECOGNIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF STABLE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE.

3. IN PARTICULAR, ZAMBIA WOULD BENEFIT GREATLY WERE IT ABLE TO RESUME USE OF THE BENGUELA RAILROAD FOR EXPORT AND IMPORT. THERE ARE ALREADY TENTATIVE SIGNS OF MOVEMENT TO THIS END BY SOME INTERESTED PARTIES (REF D) ON THE TECHNICAL LEVEL. MOREOVER, THE ZAIRIAN/ANGOLAN AGREEMENT REACHED AT BRAZZAVILLE OFFERS AT LEAST A POTENTIAL OPPORTUNITY FOR RENEWED REGIONAL COOPERATION, INCLUDING RAIL TRANSPORT AS WELL AS RE-SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES AND HELPING SECURE BORDER AGAINST DISSIDENT INCURSIONS.

4. ZAMBIA MAY BENEFIT FROM THIS AGREEMENT, AS REGARDS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 185974

RE-OPENING THE BENGUELA RAILROAD, WITHOUT MUCH FURTHER ACTION OR COMMITMENT ON ITS PART. WE PRESUME, THOUGH, THAT ZAMBIA WOULD ALSO LIKE TO ACHIEVE AGREED MODALITIES FOR VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES (IN THIS CASE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ZAIRIANS WHO ARE A DRAIN ON LIMITED ZAMBIAN RESOURCES). ZAIRIAN CONCERN OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF POTENTIAL SHABA III ASSAULT THROUGH ZAMBIA ALSO COMPLICATES THEIR RELATIONS AND KAUNDA MIGHT THEREFORE SEE VALUE IN ACCEDING TO THE AGREEMENT'S BORDER SURVEILLANCE ARRANGEMENTS.

5. IT APPEARS TO US, THEREFORE, THAT IT WOULD BE TO ZAMBIA'S ADVANTAGE TO BECOME A DE FACTO OR FORMAL ADHERENT TO THE ANGOLAN/ZAIRIAN AGREEMENT SIGNED AT BRAZZAVILLE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE AWARE OF THE SENSITIVITIES INVOLVED, AND WOULD NOT WANT TO BE PERCEIVED AS PUSHING ZAMBIA TOWARD SUCH PARTICIPATION.

6. WE ALSO HAVE IN MIND THE GRZ/MPLA/UNITA TRIANGLE. KAUNDA WOULD PRESUMABLY HAVE TO WEIGH THE GROSS GAIN FOR ZAMBIA AGAINST THE IMPACT THIS STRENGTHENING OF LINKS WITH LUANDA WOULD HAVE ON UNITA. BOTH THE GRZ AND UNITA

WOULD ALSO HAVE TO WEIGH UNITA'S INTEREST IN CONTINUING TO INTERDICT THE RAIL LINE AGAINST THE VALUE OF UNITA'S TO INTERDICT THE RAIL LINE AGAINST THE VALUE OF UNITA'S ZAMBIAN CONNECTION. AT A MINIMUM, SUCH A ZAMBIAN MOVE WOULD PUT A SEVERE STRAIN ON THAT RELATIONSHIP. ON BALANCE, THOUGH WE SUSPECT THAT THE GRZ WOULD NOT BE DETERRED FROM SUCH PARTICIPATION BY UNITA'S REACTION.

7. THE USG ROLE IN FACILITATING THE BRAZZAVILLE AGREEMENT WAS QUIET, EXPLORATORY AND CAST IN THE FORM OF POTENTIALLY HELPFUL SUGGESTIONS. IN THE CASE OF ZAMBIA, EVEN SUCH A LOW-KEYED APPROACH MAY BE SUPERFLUOUS; KAUNDA AND HIS AIDES MAY WELL BE WEIGHING THE SAME LOGIC EXPLORED ABOVE, AND WE MAY BE KNOCKING ON AN OPEN DOOR. HOWEVER, SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 185974

TO BE SURE WE DO NOT LOSE THE CHANCE TO SIGN UP A THIRD KEY PLAYER, AND TO HELP EMPHASIZE A GROWING DETENTE IN SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICA, WE BELIEVE THAT UNLESS YOU SEE SOME SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN DOING SO, YOU SHOULD APPROACH EITHER THE GRZ FOREIGN MINISTRY OR STATE HOUSE (CHONA), DRAWING AS YOU WISH ON FOREGOING, PLUS REFTELS, ALONG FOLLOWING LINES.

8. WE WISH TO SHARE WITH ZAMBIA OUR VIEWS ON THE EVOLVING SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICAN SCENE, INCLUDING THE DEVELOPMENTS ON NAMIBIA, ON THE ANGOLAN/ZAIRIAN AGREEMENT REACHED AT BRAZZAVILLE, AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS TO THE RHODESIAN ISSUE.

9. (AFTER COVERING THESE BRIEFLY) YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT, IN ADDITION TO OUR ACTIVE ROLE VIS-A-VIS NAMIBIA, WE ALSO WERE PLEASED TO HAVE BEEN OF SOME ASSISTANCE IN BRINGING ANGOLA AND ZAIRE TOGETHER FOR SERIOUS TALKS. YOU MIGHT NOTE THAT RE-OPENING OF THE BENGUELA RAILROAD IS ON- OF THE THREE MAJOR POINTS AGREED AT BRAZZAVILLE, A HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT FOR ZAMBIA. WE HOPE THAT THE MOMENTUM TOWARD A GENERAL DETENTE IN CENTRAL AFRICA WILL CONTINUE, AND WOULD WELCOME THE GRZ'S ASSESSMENT OF NEXT STEPS, AND OF A POSSIBLE ZAMBIA ROLE IN THEM.

10. IF TENOR OF CONVERSATION WARRANTS, YOU MIGHT SOUND OUT YOUR GRZ CONTACT ON WHETHER ZAMBIA IS CONTEMPLATING SOME SORT OF ADHERENCE OR RELATIONSHIP TO THE BRAZZAVILLE AGREEMENT WHICH MIGHT EXTEND THE AGREEMENT'S SCOPE AND BENEFITS TO ZAMBIA (BEYOND POSSIBLE REVITALIZATION OF THE RAILROAD) IN TERMS OF BORDER SECURITY AND VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 185974

11. IF ZAMBIANS RAISE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE USG LOGISTIC SUPPORT FOR A VERIFICATION TEAM WHICH MIGHT OPERATE ALONG THE ZAMBIAN/ZAIRIAN BORDER, YOU SHOULD SAY YOU ARE UNINSTRUCTED, BUT SUR;ISE ON A PERSONAL BASIS THAT THE USG WOULD BE WILLING TO EXAMINE ANY REASONABLE PROPOSITION.

12. IF ASKED ABOUT THE COMPLICATIONS INVOLVED IN MAKING A TWO-STATE AGREEMENT TRIPARTITE, YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THIS IS A PROBLEM FOR THE PARTIES THEMSELVES TO WORK OUT.

13. THESE INSTRUCTIONS ARE INTENDED PRIMARILY TO PROVIDE YOU WITH GUIDANCE IN EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITIES WITH THE GRZ. IF AT ANY POINT IT APPEARS THAT OUR PROBES ARE UNWELCOME OR SUPERFLUOUS YOU SHOULD DISCONTINUE THIS APPROACH AND REPORT TO THE DEPARTMENT. VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE185974
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: LDJUNIOR:GJB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780302-0399
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780729/aaaaayul.tel
Line Count: 192
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a0928a6e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN AF
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 172815
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1913824
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ANGOLAN, ZAIRIAN AND ZAMBIAN RELATIONS
TAGS: PEPR, AO, CG, ZA
To: LUSAKA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a0928a6e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014